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they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its several phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment the crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he makes the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and when fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the first victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by joining in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be the only method of resignation.

It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organized unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appear as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dances and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal groups by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decoration, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen give vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes them from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. The bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair is tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the top of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because the species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to project obliquely upward and outward.

Formalized Friendship Bonds

1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man who conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers on a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends." For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to ten other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbira tribes. Thus, Tunkõ''s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kẽẽa; Prjčet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatẽ'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women named Krąkupẽ'; Nyõñą'n; Ikurẽ'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ipey; pey = good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obligations connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take them much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either automatically through joint exercise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary arrangement. The latter takes two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impose obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Secondly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" during the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novices, limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in the woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue of

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572 561 heir names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter n depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite irections, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationhip thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be nherited.

608 627 Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," viz., mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hąpín and pinčwę'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, *both* turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hąpín and his pinčwę'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hąpín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hąpín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummers' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pinčwę'i.

No hąpín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Čątú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued [577] voice, "hąpín, you know . . . I am not allowed to say anything . . . but . . . " Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hąpín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hąpín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

123 608 But in case of danger a hąpín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture Čątú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hąpín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Čątú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

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2. *Kwỵ'nõ'*

572 The kwỵ'nõ' differs radically from the hąpín relationship in lacking its manifol ceremonial and onerous obligations, for which it substitutes the boon companionship of young age mates.

The tie is formed exclusively by voluntary agreement during the final pepyé of an age class, specifically on the same occasion used for cementing the hąpín relationship. The candidates step into the brook, grasp each other standing abreast, jointly dive, and swim as far as possible below the surface of the water without relinquishing their grip. The two girl associates also become kwỵ'nõ' to a fair number of age mates at this juncture.

The term of address, irrespective of the sex of the person spoken to, is iykwỵ'nõ' (iy = the first person pronoun singular). Very often the term assumes the form iynõre (= re, the diminutive suffix).

The tie is reckoned indissoluble, at least in theory lasting until one partner's death; practically it is of importance only in youth, for persons over forty years or thereabout no longer use the above terms of address nor have I been able to note anything relevant to this bond at that time of life.

Kwỵ'nõ' are expected to be particularly good comrades, constantly accompanying and aiding each other—formerly, above all on war expeditions. In their speech and jesting they are unrestrained by the other's presence, and each may publicly reprove and make fun of the other as soon as he offers an opening. This is not resented as an insult, but considered a friendly service; no one takes umbrage at a kwỵ'nõ''s mockery

572 837 The handsomest proof of true kwỵ'nõ' friendship consists in the occasional exchange of wives, but the women's consent is prerequisite. When all concerned are agreed, the matter is arranged quite unobtrusively, such friends being in any case in the habit of paying each other visits. If during such a visit the husband should be alone with his wife, he may say, "iynõre, I am going out for a while, you may remain here." The recipient of such courtesy is subsequently obliged to repay the favor in the same fashion. Such exchanges are invariably temporary and in no way affect the permanence of the marital tie. Though no blame attaches to the participants, the arrangement is made as inconspicuously as possible, so that its frequency cannot be definitely determined. It is probably rather rare, for it implies reciprocity and the refusal of one of the wives suffices to frustrate the project.

The institution certainly has nothing to do with either "promiscuity" or prostitution in our sense. The wives concerned do not receive the slightest gift, nor is wife exchange the main object of the kwỵ'nõ' tie, for in former times the pepyé entering this relationship were still unmarried, as they still are with but a few exceptions.

838 I have never seen or heard of any homosexual aspect of this type of friendship. Characteristically our Canella have turned the usage into wife exchange rather than into homosexual excesses.

Kinship Terms

601 (*Note.* The prefixes id- and i- are first person singular possessives; the suffix -re is diminutive; -ti, augmentative; i-, feminine; -tum denotes old age, -ne-wu, youth; -ye remains problematical, but occurs with nouns denoting social groups. There are no distinctive vocative forms.)

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into kạ′ and atụ′k, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakõ′kama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

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In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčą′, old Koyapą′, the catcher, and an Indian named Korã′ went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korã′ made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

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His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapą′ now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiançée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

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Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwụ'nó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinčwẹ′i and Koté my kwụ'nõ′.

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After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen